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A VOTIVE TABLET

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IN THE

BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

BY

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT

REPRINTED FROM THE

HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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A VOTIVE TABLET TO ARTEMIS ANAÏTIS AND MÈN TIAMU

IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.



Prof. John S. Dwight  
Mar 10 1896

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A VOTIVE TABLET TO ARTEMIS ANAÏTIS AND MËN  
TIAMU IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS.<sup>1</sup>  
PLATE II.

BY JOHN HENRY WRIGHT.

I.

OF the history of the votive tablet, figured on the accompanying plate and discussed below, nothing seems to be known, except that the slab came "from the Levant," and has been in Boston for forty or fifty years.<sup>2</sup> It is now in the Museum of Fine Arts of that city, in the Room of Classical Antiquities; its number on the register of acquisitions is S. 1695.<sup>3</sup>

The dimensions are: greatest height, m. .72; width, m. .42; thickness, m. .06. It is of coarse white marble, "probably Asiatic."<sup>4</sup>

On the upper part of the front surface there is a panel upon which are represented in low relief a man, child, woman, and second child (the last fragmentary), standing in a row from right to left, *en face*, each with the right arm raised from the elbow, palm turned out, and thumb separated from the fingers. The attitude is the familiar one of adoration.<sup>5</sup> The man and the boys wear the short

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this article was read before the American Philological Association, July 12, 1894, at the Williamstown meeting.

<sup>2</sup> My best thanks are due to Gen. Charles G. Loring, Director of the Museum, and to Mr. Edward Robinson, Curator of Classical Antiquities, for calling my attention to the tablet as soon as it was received, and for furnishing me with facilities for publishing it. A preliminary notice of the tablet appears in Mr. Robinson's *Report to the Trustees for 1893*, pp. 19, 20.

<sup>3</sup> It was for many years exhibited among the curiosities of the old "Boston Museum," a hall attached to a theatre. In 1893, when the collections of the "Museum" were broken up, it came into the possession of Mr. Charles A. Cummings, who, on December 20, 1893, gave it to the Museum of Fine Arts.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Robinson.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 147 ff. The attitude is as in Waddington-LeBas, *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 137, and on many

sleeveless chiton and the long himation, the latter thrown under the right arm and over the left shoulder. The woman wears a short himation similarly thrown, and the long chiton. What appears to be an object held in the left hand of the boy in the middle is perhaps only a piece of the untrimmed marble,<sup>1</sup> and the tassel-like appendage near the left hand of the woman is nothing more than the rudely-cut end of the himation. In artistic character this sculptured relief is crude, stiff, and lifelessly conventional. The design, as often on tablets of this sort, does not exactly fit the inscription, which speaks of only one child. Hence we may infer that the slab with its relief was not made to order, but was selected by the devotees from a stock of ready-made stones as the one coming nearest to their needs.

Above the panel was probably once an ornamental coping, which has been sadly mutilated.<sup>2</sup> The left edge of the slab is likewise incomplete, being broken off from top to bottom.

Below the relief stands the inscription, in letters of the style current in Asia Minor, and especially in eastern Lydia, about 200 A.D. The inscription is perfectly preserved, except that each line lacks at the end from two to four letters.

Ἄρτέμιδι Ἀναείτι κ[αὶ Μη-]  
 νὶ Τιάμου Μουσαῖς Β̄ [καὶ]  
 Καλλιγένεια ἡ σύμβι[ος αὐ-]  
 τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μουσαίου το[ῦ υἱοῦ]  
 5 μαρτυροῦντες τὰς δ[υνά-]  
 μεις τῶν θεῶν ἀπέδω[καν]  
 τὴν εὐχὴν· ἔτους σ̄πα· [μη(νὸς)]  
 Δείου ῑ.

other monuments, especially from Asia Minor.— Cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Mar.* 26, *ἠΰξατο δὲ καὶ Κάτλος ὁμοίως ἀνασχῶν τὰς χεῖρας καθιερώσειν τὴν τύχην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης*, where *καθιερώσειν* is used in a specific sense, like *ἀνέστησαν*, similar to that pregnant in *ἀποδώσειν τὴν εὐχὴν*.

<sup>1</sup> On some reliefs of a similar character the adorants carry cakes in their hands.

<sup>2</sup> On this coping may have been carved something to represent a part of a human body, the member cured by the divinities. Compare the four eyes carved on the coping above a similar row of figures, in Waddington-LeBas, *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 137 (no. 688, from Goerdis or Julia Gordus), and see below p. 72, nos. 6 and 7.

“To Artemis Anaitis<sup>1</sup> and Mên Tiamu: Musæus, son of Musæus,<sup>2</sup> and Calligeneia his consort, on behalf of Musæus their son, in testimony to the powers of the gods, have paid their vow. In the year 281, the 10th of the month Dios [A.D. 196<sup>3</sup>?].”

<sup>1</sup> The **Anaitis inscriptions** known up to 1886, ten in number, have been collected and printed by S. Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, II. 1885, pp. 105, 107 f.; 1886, pp. 155, 156 (from the *Revue Archéologique*, with additions). [According to Leemans's facsimiles, on the stones from Kula in Reinach, *Chroniques*, 1886, p. 156, No. 2 ( $\nu\lambda\delta$ ), the date should be  $\overline{\sigma\nu\delta}$ , not  $\overline{\sigma\delta}$ , and an  $\overline{\text{Anaitis}}$  should be inserted between  $\overline{\text{Mητρι}}$  and  $\overline{\text{Ἀξιοτηνηῦ}}$ ; and in no. 5, the date is  $\overline{\sigma\pi\delta}$ , not  $\overline{\sigma\mu\delta}$ .] Of these ten  $\overline{\text{Anaitis}}$  inscriptions, one is from Hypaepa, near Odemish, undated; two, undated, are from Philadelphia; the remaining seven are from Kula or vicinity, three undated, four dated respectively A.D. 160, 200 (?), 235 (236), and 236 (237). To this number should now be added no. **11**, our inscription, dated A.D. 196; nos. **12**, **13**, the two inscriptions from Kula (*Μαίονια*) published by Contoleon, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XII. 1887, pp. 254, 255 (cf. E. L. Hicks, *Classical Review*, III. 1889, p. 69), dated respectively A.D. 215 (216) and 244 (245); for no. 12 see p. 72, no. 5; no. **14**, undated inscription from Philadelphia (not from Tralles), Contoleon, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XIV. 1889, p. 106. — Possibly also belong here (as no. **15**) Michaelis, *Journ. Hellen. S.*, V. p. 154, the proper name  $\overline{\text{Παρ-ἀναΐαθ}}$ , ‘gift of Anaitis’ (?); and (as no. **16**) Waddington-LeBas, no. 699<sup>a</sup>, from Kula, undated: I would emend  $\overline{\text{Μητρογέννης θεᾶ ἈΛΙΑΝΗ}}$  in it to  $\overline{\text{θεᾶ ἈΝΑΪΤΙ(Η)}}$ . The inscription has not been tested by a squeeze. To be sure there is a town Alia in Phrygia, but on coins we have  $\overline{\text{ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ}}$ .

Seven of these Anaitis inscriptions are now in Leyden, and have been published in facsimiles by C. Leemans, *Verh. d. k. Amsterdam Akad.* XVII. 1886 (1888), no. 7: Leemans also gives, from Reinach, the transliteration of all the remaining ones, except nos. 1 (from Odemish), 11, 14, and 16.

It will be noted that of these inscriptions, all of which the provenance is known, except one from Odemish, come either from Philadelphia (three), or from Kula or neighborhood (ten). — For Mên Tiamu inscriptions, see note on pp. 71-3.

<sup>2</sup> On the spelling of this name in this inscription see the remarks on line 2. For  $\overline{\text{Μουσαῖς}}$  (from  $\overline{\text{Μουσαῖος}}$ ), Latinized Musæus, cf. Barnaëus = Barnaëus: Benseler, *Curtius Studien*, III. pp. 167, 168.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this article it is assumed, in the reduction of dates, that the era of Sulla — which seems to have begun about July 1, B.C. 85, and not Sept. 24, B.C. 85, or 84 — was followed in Upper Lydia, as well as in Phrygia. Cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, I. p. 337, and, for the date, Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, p. 452. (Where two dates are given in the reductions, the second must be adopted if the era is assumed to have begun Sept. 23, B.C. 85.) In the sequence of months Dios came first; Peritius, fourth; Dystrus, fifth; Xandicus, sixth; Artemisius, seventh; and Daesius, eighth. — [But see below, p. 73.]

## II.

Judging from many other inscriptions similarly dedicated,<sup>1</sup> we may infer that one Musæus, — who seems to have pronounced his name Musæus, — and his wife Calligeneia, on the serious illness of their son, or in some other grave stress, had made a vow to Artemis Anaïtis and Mên Tiamu that if the boy were by these gods restored they would dedicate to them some *anathema*. To the object thus dedicated they attached this tablet which commemorates the might of the gods named in it.

The restoration and interpretation of the inscription offer no difficulties.

Line 1. — ANAEITI, in which EI has the value of I, and *vice versa*, must have been felt as a dative for 'Ανάιτις (perhaps 'Ανάιτει, cf. πόλις πόλει), though the regular form of the word would be 'Ανάιτιδι. So far as I have observed, 'Αναείτι does not occur except in a dative construction, and thus may be regarded as a dative form. Hence I would accent 'Αναείτι, not 'Ανάειτι, nor 'Αναέτι. The following case-forms are found on the stones (ει usually replacing the first ι): nom., 'Ανάειτις; gen., 'Αναίτιδος, 'Αναείτις (*sic*; for 'Αναείτιος?); dat., 'Αναίτιδι, 'Αναείτι, 'Αναε(ί)τι; acc., 'Ανάειτιν. — The lost MH of [Μη]νι was probably written as a monogram,<sup>2</sup> MH, or perhaps κ[αί] was abbreviated; there is not room for both words written out in full.

<sup>1</sup> Anaïtis (Artemis, θεά, μεγάλη, μήτηρ, prefixed) is, in many of the dedicatory inscriptions, gratefully remembered for services of healing, as is also Mên Tiamu. Cf. Reinach, *Chroniques, ibid.* Mên had a character in some respects like that of Asclepius. Thus Mên Caru had a medical school attached to his temple at Attuda (Ramsay, *American Journal of Archaeology*, IV. p. 277), and near his shrine at Mênos Come, between Carura and Attuda, were hot springs: Athen. II. 43 A. The coins of Parlais in Lycaonia have as types not only the god Mên, holding the pine-cone and with cock at his feet, but also Asclepius and Hygieia: Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 596.

The Charite dedication, — Reinach, *Chroniques*, 1886, p. 156: 'Αρτέμιδι 'Αναε(ι)τι Χαρίτη | 'Απολλωνίου, περίπτωμα | σχοῦσα καὶ ἐξασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς Ιερελας, εὐχὴν. 'To Artemis Anaïtis, Charite, daughter of Apollonius, having had an accident, and having been by the priestess restored through exorcisms and incantations, has paid her vow,' — when compared with Strabo, XV. 3. 15, p. 732, where mention is made of the priests of Anaïtis (ἐξάδουσιν ὄραν), suggests something of the methods employed by the servants of the goddess in fulfilling her petitioners' desires. Cf. Paus. V. 27. 5: ἀνὴρ μάγος . . . ἐπάδει βάρβαρα . . . ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MHNI in Waddington-LeBas, no. 668; also below, p. 72, no. 5.



Line 2. — We must not write *Μηντιάμων* as one word, with Boeckh, G. E. Benseler, Leemans, etc. The parallel forms, nom. *Μὴν Κάρου*, gen. *Μηνὸς Κάρου*, and *Μηνὸς Τιάμων*, make this impossible. Cf. Waddington-LeBas, *Inscriptions de l'Asie Mineure*, no. 668. — *Τιάμων* is an indeclinable word of uncertain origin and meaning; see pp. 68 ff. — *ΜΟΥΣΑΙΣ* is, of course, not a graver's blunder<sup>1</sup> for *ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ*.<sup>2</sup> Examples of *-is* for and from *-ios* are frequent in Greek (and Latin) proper names on stones of the Roman era, and of *-is* for *-ius* in Roman inscriptions from the earliest date.<sup>3</sup> In by far the larger number of examples, which have been collected by F. G. Benseler, the iota is not part of a diphthong as here, but instances are by no means wanting where *-aios* (*-aeus*) and *-eios* (*-eius*) become respectively *-ais* (*-aes*) and *-eis* (*-es*). If these cases were lacking, we should either look upon *Μουσαῖς* as a graver's blunder for *Μουσαῖος* or be tempted to read *Μουσαῖς* (*Musaëis*), with uncertain accent, as a trisyllabic word; but with the examples in mind, and for other reasons suggested in the notes, it seems better to regard the final syllable as diphthongal, and to treat the word as a dissyllable.<sup>4</sup> The accent is

<sup>1</sup> Some incisions on the slab between I and Σ, which might be taken for an attempt to insert an O, are nothing more than clumsily-cut parts of Σ.

<sup>2</sup> The name *Μουσαῖος* is very common on the stones. Note from Kula, date 244 (245) A.D., a dedication from one *Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Μουσαῖος* to *Μητρὶ Ἀναίτρι*: *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XII. p. 255 (*Classical Review*, III. 1889, p. 69). The encroachment of the Roman praenomen is significant of the later date.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. F. G. Benseler, *Curtius Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, III. pp. 149–183; also Lobeck, *Pathol. serm. graec. Prolegomena*, pp. 500 ff.; Blass-Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griech. Sprache*, I. p. 400. This corruption is frequent in proper names in Greek, after about 50 A.D., but in Latin is much more ancient. Of the hundreds of examples collected by Benseler, the following occur where *-aios* has become *-ais* (sometimes written *-aeis*): *Ἀνρ. Γάεις* (but this was probably *Γάις*: cf. F. D. Allen, *Harvard Studies*, II. p. 76), *Ἀθήναις*, *Ἀθήναις*, *Εἰρήναις*, *Ἑστίαις*, *Ἀρίσταις*, *Ἀνραις*, *Ἰταις*, *Κήπαις*, *Σίμαις*, *Κότταις*. The cases of *-eios* becoming *-is* (*-eis*) are *Στρούθειν* (accus.), *Ἥλεις*, and perhaps *Κράτεις*, *Εὐάρεις*. Professor Ramsay has seen *ΕΡΜΑΙΣ*, gen. *-ΙΟΥ*. Add also *Ἡραῖς*, Waddington-LeBas, no. 678 (below, p. 71, no. 1). — I am not aware that *Μουσαῖος* has ever before appeared in the shortened form.

<sup>4</sup> In favor of the dissyllabic pronunciation, or for *-ais* as against *-aïs*, might be adduced the fact (e.g.) that *Ἀθήναιος* becomes not only *Ἀθήναις*, but also *Ἀθηνᾶς* (cf. *Ἐρμᾶς* from *Ἐρμᾶιος*, etc.). The form *Ἀθηνᾶς* could not have arisen from a *Ἀθήναις*.

less certain. There is a twofold question here: the accentuation of the longer and that of the shorter form. The vulgate and traditional accentuation of the longer form, traceable apparently to Aristarchus,<sup>1</sup> is *Μουσαῖος*. But there are scholars who would give such proper names, to distinguish them from adjectival forms of identical spelling, the recessive accent, and would write accordingly *Μούσαιος*. Evidently *Μουσαῖος* would become *Μουσαῖς*, and *Μούσαιος* would become *Μούσαις*. The analogy of *Ἀθήναιος* (*Ἀθήναις*?) seems to favor *Μούσαιος* (*Μούσαις*); but the modern Greek *Βαρθολομαῖς* (from *Βαρθολομαῖος*), and the accent of *Ἀθηνᾶς*, *Ἐρμᾶς*,<sup>2</sup> etc., — which could have arisen only from a *Ἀθηναῖος*, *Ἐρμαῖος* (not from *Ἀθήναιος*, *Ἐρμαιος*), in both of which classes of cases the accent remains on the syllable that originally carried it, — speak emphatically, and in my judgment decisively, for *Μουσαῖς*.<sup>3</sup> — ·B· after *Musæus* indicates that *Musæus* is second of the name, i.e., is in the second generation<sup>4</sup>; thus in Waddington-LeBas, no. 656, we read *δὲς*

<sup>1</sup> A scholium on *Iliad* E 69, edited by Cramer (*Anecd. Paris.* III. p. 283) appears to contain Aristarchus's doctrine on the accentuation of *Μουσαῖος* and similar words. The matter is fully discussed by Lehrs, *De Aristarchi studiis homericis*,<sup>3</sup> pp. 292 ff. Cf. also Herodian, *passim* (Lenz's index, s. *Μουσαῖος*); Ellendt, *Lex. Sophocleum*,<sup>2</sup> p. 460. — On the accent of the shorter forms of words in *-is* (from *-ios*), see Benseler, *ibid.* pp. 182 f.

<sup>2</sup> In *Ἀθηνᾶς*, *Ἐρμᾶς*, and similar words, we have a reversion to the accentuation of the adjectival form, the necessity of accentual differentiation — as in *Ἀθήναιος*, 'Athenæus,' and *Ἀθηναῖος*, 'an Athenian' — not being felt where the spelling was different. — Indeed, though *Ἀθήναιος* must stand, is it certain that *Ἀθήναις* is right? Ought we not to make it *Ἀθηναῖς*, on the analogy of *Ἀθηνᾶς*? And similarly should we not change into perispomena several of the proper names cited in the preceding notes?

<sup>3</sup> It would hardly be sound to argue that as correption must take place in unaccented syllables, neither of the two syllables in *-aios* would have been under the accent, and that we must accordingly write *Μούσαιος* and *Μούσαις*. In the first place, at the period of our inscription the pitch accent in Greek had not become a stress accent, and it is mainly the stress accent that works havoc with unaccented syllables; in the second place, there are many examples of corrected syllables the former element of which was once under the accent.

<sup>4</sup> There are numerous instances in inscriptions of Roman date: e.g. *Διονύσιος β̄*, Waddington-LeBas, no. 617; *id.*, no. 647 ([Ἡλι]ο[δῶρ]ου β̄ τοῦ Ἡλιο[δῶρου]), where three persons named Heliodorus are mentioned; *id.*, 734, 795, Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, III. 1, 2, p. 213 (no. DLXXXVIII), etc.

Παιτιανόν, but the sign for the ordinal or adverb is more frequent. Μουσαῖς β̄ probably means 'Musæus, son of Musæus.' His own son, here referred to in τοῦ ἰοῦ, might have been designated as Μουσαῖς γ̄.<sup>1</sup>

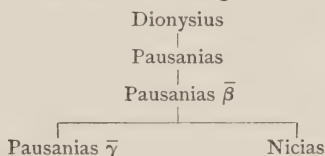
Line 3. — The H after Καλλιγένεια has been corrected from N. — σύμβιος, which is the regular form on the stones, is preferable to συμβία: there is a distance trace of O on the marble. Compare also Waddington-LeBas, no. 734 (*C.I.G.* 3872<sup>b</sup>).

Line 4. — For Μουσαῖον τοῦ ἰοῦ, see Waddington-LeBas, no. 682, from Goerdis (= Julia Gordus). There is hardly enough room for ἰοῦ. Μουσαῖον γ̄ is out of the question; and for Μουσαῖου τοῦ γ̄ I can find no analogy. In Waddington-LeBas, no. 703 (from Kula), father and mother unite on behalf of their τὸ πο[θεῖν]ὸν τέκνον.

Line 6. — δυνάμυς for δυνάμεις, as in Ἀναεῖτι above. In a different sense the word occurs in Waddington-LeBas, no. 668 (from Kula, cited below, p. 72, no. 3). — τῶν θεῶν are the pair Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu.

Line 7. — ἔτους σπα, or 291, is probably of the era of Sulla<sup>2</sup> (85 B.C.), which seems to be the one followed in the part of Asia Minor where Artemis Anaitis and Mên Tiamu were together worshipped; possibly, however, that of Actium is used (32 B.C., not 31 B.C.). — The word μηνός, 'month,' was probably indicated<sup>3</sup> either by its

<sup>1</sup> An interesting inscription illustrating this usage is Waddington-LeBas, no. 743 (*C.I.G.* 3952), Νεκταν παῖδα τῶν ἐν γεγονότων υἱὸν Πανσανίου β̄ τοῦ Διονυσίου . . . ἐπιμελητῶν Πανσανίου τοῦ Πανσανίου γ̄. This gives the stemma:



Professor Ramsay has noted inscriptions with δ̄, and even ε̄, with a name.

<sup>2</sup> Franz established this era as beginning about B.C. 84 (*C.I.G.* III. pp. 1103f.), the year when Sulla reorganized the province of Asia (Appian, *Mithrid.* 61). Cassiodorus (*Chron.* p. 682) confirms the testimony of Appian: *His consulibus—Cinna IV et Carbone II* (= B.C. 84) — *Asiam in XLIV regiones Sulla distribuit.* Cf. Waddington-LeBas, on no. 980 (Vol. III. p. 254). On the exact date of the beginning of the era see above, p. 57, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Μηνός, as M in Waddington-LeBas, no. 683; as ΝΜ, *id.* no. 679; as Μ̄, *id.* no. 702 (from Kula).

initial letter or by a monogram. — The month  $\Delta\omega\varsigma$ , of the Macedonian calendar, early adopted by the successors of Alexander for these regions, is the first month of a year which originally began soon after the autumnal equinox. Under the Romans the year appears to have begun *ca.* August 1. Hence our inscription may be dated in August, A.D. 196 (or 249?). The relief, however, must be somewhat, if only very slightly, older; as we remarked above, it was already in stock when the inscription was cut.

### III.

The provenance of the tablet may be placed with probability in the *Κατακεκαυμένη* district in eastern Lydia, or, in modern terms, the vicinity of Kula, a large Turkish village in Asia Minor, about eighty miles east of Smyrna.<sup>1</sup> This inference is based upon the fact that all of the other inscriptions known bearing the names of both Anaitis and Mên Tiamu have been traced directly to Kula or vicinity, not to speak of the large number of stones inscribed with one or the other of these names, which with few exceptions are from this region.<sup>2</sup> If it were possible to identify the marble of this slab with that quarried between Ghieulde and Sandal<sup>3</sup> (ancient Satala?), near Kula, this provenance would be established beyond a peradventure.

One is tempted to connect Kula with *Κολόη*, of which mention is made in classical writers. But apart from the consideration that the name *Κολόη* is given to several places in antiquity, Professor W. M. Ramsay has shown<sup>4</sup> not only that Kula does not occupy the site of

<sup>1</sup> Interesting views of Kula are given by Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure*, I. pl. 50, p. 133, and by Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, Vol. II. p. 136. The volcanic cones, long extinct, that gave its character to the Catacecaumene, are prominent features of the landscape. Cf. Strabo, XIII. 4, 11, p. 628.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 57, note 1, and pp. 72, 73. <sup>3</sup> Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, II. p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> About forty years ago Wagener saw and copied at Kula an inscription bearing the words *ἡ Κολονηῶν κατοικία*, and dated A.D. 101. He published it in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique, Mémoires couronnées* XXX.; it has also been published in part by Keil, *Philologus*, Suppl.-Bd. II. p. 607 ff., and, more correctly, by Tsakyroglus in the *Μουσείον* (1876, p. 41; read *Δαισίον* λ', not α'). The identification of Kula and *Κολόη* is based mainly upon this inscription, and is accepted by Wagener, De Witte, Waddington, Foucart, Von Diest, and others. Tsakyroglus

an ancient city,<sup>1</sup> but also that the name 'Kula' is a Turkish word meaning 'fortress,' with merely an accidental resemblance to Κολόη, and that it was only in comparatively late<sup>n</sup> times applied to this town. There are, however, as the remains show, several ancient sites a few miles to the north, northwest, and northeast of Kula (notably Sandal), and from one of these sites our slab may well have found its way—probably through Kula—to Smyrna, and thence to the United States forty or fifty years ago, when American trade with the Levant was much brisker than it is now. For many years past marbles of various kinds have been brought in to Kula from the adjoining regions, and are thus registered by epigraphists as from Kula.

## IV.

Our tablet raises a number of interesting problems, into the detailed discussion of which I will not enter, problems chiefly connected with the personality and cult of Artemis Anaitis and of Mên Tiamu.<sup>2</sup> These very names, on a slab dedicated by Greeks and dated by a Roman date, bear witness to the composite character of the religion of eastern Lydia and western Phrygia in the second century of our era.

thinks that the Κολόη here intended must have been on the site of Sandal, a town near Kula, and that the older name of Kula was Πύργος, or Πυργία, of which 'Kula' is presumably the Turkish translation. Professor Ramsay, however, has shown that the stone in question was brought to Kula (at least forty years ago), and not from Sandal, but from Injikler, a village in the mountainous Kara Tash district, eight hours north of Kula; accordingly he would place Κολόη in these hills (*Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 123, 211, 432, 456; private letter to the writer); so also Kiepert in 1894 (*Formae, etc.*, no. 10).—Perhaps this mountain town may have been a colony from the region of the λίμνη Κολόη, near Sardis (Strabo, XIII. 4, 5, p. 625), taking thence its name. Though in inscriptions *κατοικία* often means 'town,' with no connotation of 'colony,' the latter sense is not always wanting; cf. also Strabo, V. 4, p. 249.—Mr. Hicks (*Classical Review*, III. 1889, p. 69) seems to identify Κολόη and Kula, but strangely enough puts Kula north of Lake Coloe, more than thirty miles from its true position.

<sup>1</sup> Arundell (*Asia Minor*, I. p. 42), visiting Kula more than sixty years ago, before the interest in inscribed stones had caused them to be carried much from place to place, remarks that there is nothing in Kula to suggest an ancient site.

<sup>2</sup> On the Anaitis inscriptions, see above, p. 57, note 1. For a collection of the Mên Tiamu inscriptions, see pp. 71-3.

There appear to have been early worshipped<sup>1</sup> in these regions a pair of mighty divinities of productive nature, originally perhaps of an agrarian character, a female and a male god, the female regularly taking precedence. The former appears in literature and on inscriptions under many names,<sup>2</sup> of which Mâ was probably the native and most ancient name, which is regularly replaced by *Μήτηρ* (with or without *θεῶν*).<sup>3</sup> The latter was probably once a solar divinity, though subsequently he was transformed into a lunar god; he appears to have been known most anciently by the native populations as Ma-n, or Maen, though he, like the Great Mother, had also several less precise appellations.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that these two names in the

<sup>1</sup> Professor W. M. Ramsay, than whom no one is better qualified, promises a chapter on Mên in his forthcoming *Local History of Asia Minor*, of which Vol. I. is now in press. To what he has already published on the subject of Anatolian religion and antiquities, in various archaeological journals and in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, I owe the germ of some of the suggestions here offered, especially concerning the preëminence of Mên in Asia Minor. But for the argument on which this preëminence is based he must not be held responsible.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the ancient names of the Great Mother are given by Strabo: *Οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες, Φρυγῶν τι φύλον καὶ ἀπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰδὴν κατοικοῦντες Ῥέαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτῃ, μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἀγδιστιν καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιτυλήνην καὶ Πισσινουντίδα καὶ Κυβέλην.* Strabo, X. 3, p. 469.

<sup>3</sup> Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* *Μάσταυρα*, asserts that among the Lydians Rhea was known as Mâ. Cf. also an inscription from Byzantium: *Ἄκκα Ἀπολλωνίου Μητρὸς Θεῶν Μᾶ Μουζήνη κατὰ εὐχὴν εὐχαριστήρια*, cited by Foucart, *Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> "La religion de la Mère des Dieux avait son centre dans la Phrygie à Pessinunte. Elle paraît à l'origine avoir consisté dans les rapports des deux person-nages divins, l'un féminin appelé Mâ, d'où peut dériver le nom de *Μήτηρ*; l'autre, masculin, appelé très-anciennement Papas." Foucart, *ibid.* p. 88. — The evidence adduced for Papas as the ancient or native name of the male god is too slender to be convincing; Foucart cites an inscription of the Roman era (*C.I.G.* 3817), from northern Phrygia, which reads *Παπία Διὶ σωτήρι εὐχὴν καὶ Ἡρακλῆϊ ἀνικήτω.* Cp. also Ramsay, *Journ. Hellen. S.*, III. p. 124, V. pp. 257 ff. There is, besides, Arrian, *Frag.* 30 (*ap.* Eustath. II. E 408, p. 565: *ἀνύοντες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρωῶν Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλουν Πάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτόν*), and Diodorus (III. 58. 4) cited below.

The antiquity of the name Ma-n, Maen, Mên, for this god is, however, well attested, as also its local use in Phrygia and Lydia. This attestation consists mainly in (1) the ancient local and legendary names Mânes (Herodotus, I. 94), Mânis (Plutarch, *Mor.* 360), perhaps also *Μῆων* (from *Μᾶ-ίων*?), etc., which point

beginning were but variations (feminine and masculine) on the same stem. In due time, however, the native or popular conceptions of the divinities fell under the influence of the religious traditions and beliefs of adjacent nations, especially of such peoples as came to

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to a divinity, as Homeric Διομήδης points to *Zeus*; (2) the vast and early prevalence of proper names in Asia Minor based on the same stem; (3) the early use of Μηναγόρης, on which see p. 67, n. 1; (4) a large number of inscriptions, beginning with the fourth century B.C. and extending far into Christian times, where Mên is honored, in many of which the Great Mother and Mên are coupled as are no other two divinities; (5) numerous coin types of a similar character; (6) and, finally, references in literature, to be sure for the most part of late date, to Mên as the distinctive god of the Phrygians.

In Lucian, *Iup. Trag.* 42, we should probably read Φρύγες δὲ Μηνί [for Mss. Μήνη]; sc. θύοντες. Cf. *ibid.* 8.

In classical literature the divinity most commonly named, in the ancient Phrygian religion, in association with the Great Mother, was Attis, but Sabazius was also known as her son. The line, however, cannot be sharply drawn between the personalities of Mên, Attis, and Sabazius. I am disposed to look upon each of them as originally only different and special aspects of the same divinity, though in later times they appear now and then to have assumed in the popular imagination independent existences; thus in Wagener's relief Mên conducts a chariot in which Sabazius drives. (To Professor Ramsay's kindness I owe a drawing of this relief, not yet published so far as I know.) Proclus (*ad Tim.* IV. 251) distinctly tells us that Mên was addressed as Sabazius in the most solemn ceremonies of the latter god; and on inscriptions (very late Roman) we find dedications to Attis Menotyranus, where the identification is complete (Orelli-Henzen, *Inscriptionum . . . Collectio*, nos. 1900, 1901, 2264, 2353). On certain coins Attis is represented with all the attributes of Mên (and *vice versa*); e.g., coins of Pessinus, of Roman date; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 630; Guignault-Creuzer, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, II. 3, p. 951. On the imperial coins of the Carian Antioch we have in succession the head of Mên; Attis standing; the god ΣΩΙΩΝ, a male figure holding a branch (the equivalent of Sabazius). Of course this does not prove identification, but it points to it. At the same time, one must be careful not to urge what may be examples of very late conscious syncretism as evidence for an original identity.

In the solar characteristics of Sabazius I see a survival of the more ancient conception of the god, which through contact with Greeks and by the singular etymological perversion suggested above, was radically changed.—The epithet μεσάνβριος, as applied to Mên (Sterrett, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, II. no. 64, p. 94), should not be pressed in support of this view.

Full of suggestion is Diodorus III. 58. 4: οἱ γὰρ ἐγχώριοι μυθολογοῦσι τὸ παλαιὸν γενέσθαι Βασιλέα Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας Μήονα· γήμαντα δὲ Διυδύμην γεννήσαι μὲν

reside among the primitive inhabitants: thus the female divinity now received, among other names, from the Persian colonists in Central and Upper Lydia, as from Persian rulers of a later date, that of the great Persian divinity Anahita.<sup>1</sup> The Greeks, however, of the region thought of her sometimes as Artemis. Hence in later times, when devout persons of Greek descent residing in the Catacecaumene would worship the Great Goddess, they would often address her as Artemis Anaïtis.<sup>2</sup>

The name and character of the male god also underwent serious modification. The name Maen, early becoming Hellenized into the form Μήν, was by popular etymology connected with μήν, μήνη, 'month,' 'moon,' and then fancy transformed a god who may have had solar attributes into a lunar divinity,<sup>3</sup> and gave him, as appears in late art,<sup>4</sup> appropriate symbols (the crescent behind the shoulders over against the radiating solar disk that characterized his double, Sabazius). In this new relation he gained wide popularity, and his cult spread into regions that previously had not known the Phrygian god.<sup>5</sup> His vast significance is attested in many ways,

παιδίον θῆλυ . . . Κυβέλην [who was in due time loved by a youth] τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν, ὕστερον δ' ἐπικληθέντα Πάπαν. Confused as all this is — the baldest kind of popular euhemerism, possibly the very doctrine of Euhemerus himself, who was one of the sources of Diodorus — is there not underlying Μήνα a reference to Mên, if the word itself be not a blunder for Μήνα?

<sup>1</sup> The towns slightly northward of Kula, which lay on the direct line of the ancient royal road to Persia, were a great seat of the Artemis-Anaïtis-Mêtêr worship. Cf. Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, pp. 30, 131; *Journ. Hellen. S.*, IV. p. 385, III. p. 55. — Into the questions either of a possible ultimate Babylonian origin for Anaïtis, or of Semitic admixtures in her cult at various places, I do not enter. For the literature, cf. Cumont, *Wissowa-Pauly*, I. p. 2020.

<sup>2</sup> From the many passages I select only Pausanias III. 17, where we are told that the Lydians have the oldest statue of Artemis, worshipped by them, however, as Anaïtis. At Philadelphia, and in Maeonia, she was known as Μήτηρ Ἀνάειτις, *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, VIII. p. 376; below, p. 72, no. 6; above, p. 57, no. 13.

<sup>3</sup> This etymological conception led the Romans of the Empire sometimes to translate Mên by Lunus (Spartianus, *Vit. Carac.* 6, 7; cp. Chwolson, *Ssabier*, I. pp. 399 ff.). But on some Latin inscriptions, cited above, p. 65, the stem Mên is still used.

<sup>4</sup> See Waddington-LeBas, *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 132, no. 2, and below, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> A glance into the index of Head's *Historia Numorum* (s. Mên), gives one a good idea of the geographical range of the cult of the god, from Istrus and



some of which have been hinted at in a former note (p. 64, n. 4), but there are one or two aspects of his worship that are of special interest to the classical scholar. If our examination of the evidence is trustworthy, we must believe that, as far back as the earlier years of the fourth century B.C., the priest of Mên was a familiar figure in the streets of Athens, and had vividly impressed himself upon the popular imagination.<sup>1</sup>

Panticapaeum on the western and northern shores of the Euxine to Laodiceia ad Libanum in Syria.—The prevalence of this cult in Thrace and in Thracian colonies is noteworthy as one of the many signs of the close connection between Thrace and Phrygia. Cf. Strabo, X. 3, 16, p. 471. On many Thracian coins and reliefs the god is represented on horseback, but he is similarly figured elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> The oldest inscription known to me relating to Mên is that published by Foucart, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, IV. p. 129 (Διονύσιος και Βαβύλια τῶι Μηνί τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνέθεσαν). It is from the Peiraeus, and is dated, epigraphically, the second half of the fourth century B.C.—Apart from the names of persons, the earliest form in which the word occurs in literature is in *Μηναγύρτης*. This word is a title of a comedy by Menander, fl. 320 B.C. (Athen. XI. 472 B), and perhaps also of one by Antiphanes (so Bekk. *Anecd.* 88, 18; but Athen. XII. 553 C reads *Μητραγύρτης*; cf. Kock, *C.A.F.* II. p. 74). From the presence of the related word *Μητραγύρτης* (applied, for example, by Iphicrates to Callias: Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 2, 10) likewise occurring as the title of plays, the emendation of *Μηναγύρτης* to *Μητραγύρτης*, wherever in the manuscripts the former word is found, has often been proposed. But the word is guaranteed against such treatment by Hesychius's ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς συνάγων [which I would emend to ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μηνὸς συνάγων, though ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Μηνί is also possible; cf. Eustathius, *Odys.* p. 1824, *μητραγυρτεῖν* τὸ . . . μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ τινων τοιοῦτων περιεῖναι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Μηνί ἀγέλρει τροφάς, . . . ὃ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ 'Ρέα]. But for Eustathius one would be tempted to supply *θείσους* with *συνάγων*, comparing Dem. *F.L.* 281. The explanation of Suidas whereby ἀπὸ τοῦ μηνὸς means 'monthly,' is clearly a darkening of counsel, and Meineke's suggestion that the first element in *μηναγύρτης* is *Μήνη*, 'the moon-goddess,' can hardly gain acceptance. Cf. also Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* II. p. 20, Potter; Dionysius Halic. *Ant.* II. 19, and Eusebius, *Praef. Ev.* II. 8.—The deportment of these *ἀγύρται* in public is described not only by Antiphanes in the fragment already cited, but also by many other writers, e.g., Plato, *Resp.* II. 364 B; Apuleius, *Metam.* 8. Cf. Foucart, *Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, pp. 160 ff. The word *ἀγύρτης*, Latin *Ariolus*, in turn gave its name to a comedy by Philemon in Greek, and to one in Latin by Naevius.—The existence of these two words side by side, *Μητραγύρτης* and *Μηναγύρτης*, in the popular speech of the Athenians in the fourth and third century B.C., is quite intelligible, if we regard them as calling up the two characteristic divinities of Phrygia in their itinerant and beggar priests,—the Great Mother and Mên. The strange Phrygian religion

The exact signification of the epithet *Τιάμων* it is perhaps impossible to establish. Waddington, in his well-known note on *Mên* (Waddington-LeBas, no. 668), approves the suggestion that would connect the word with some Lydian root, comparing other words of similar termination (e.g., *Πριάμος*, *Τεύταμος*, *Πέργαμος*). But is it hazardous to see in this word a local form of the great Babylonian (Semitic) divinity *Tiāmat*<sup>1</sup> (*Tiam-tu*, *Tham-te*; cf. Hebrew *ṯēhōm*),

early impressed the imagination of the European Greeks: the erection of the *Metroum* in Athens in the fifth century, in expiation of the murder of a *metragytes* (Suid., *s.v.*), was a national recognition of its power; but yet deeper was the hold it took on the lower orders of society and on restless spirits, on the one hand giving rise to the formation of orgiastic thiasoi, with their fanatical excesses, and, on the other, suggesting taking topics to the comic poets and to orators who often delighted in expressing themselves in broad comedy. Cf. Strabo, X, 19, p. 471, πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο [the Athenians], ὥστε καὶ ἐκωμωδήθησαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ τὰ Φρύγια. The drastic passage in Demosthenes (*Cor.* 260) describes in caricature a thiasos in honor both of the *Μήτηρ θεῶν* and her companion male divinity; the Scholiast distinctly informs us that the *εὐοὶ σάβοι* refers to [*Mên*] *Sabazius*; though the *ὑῆς ἄττης* immediately following properly refers to *Attis*, it here probably more specially connotes the Mother, and thus Strabo is right in saying that this scene contains *Σαβάζια καὶ Μητρῶα* (X, 3, 18, p. 471). As the mother of *Aeschines*, a priestess and *τυμπανίστρια* (*Dem. Cor.* 284), is here figured as a female *Μητραγύρτης*, we may safely infer that Demosthenes would represent *Aeschines* himself as a *Μητραγύρτης*, though of course in this tumultuous picture no attempt is made to keep the colors distinct.

<sup>1</sup> On the Babylonian Creation Tablets the name of this being appears as *Tiāmat*. In Hebrew the form becomes *ṯēhōm*, usually rendered 'waters, deep, depths.' In Berosus, as corrected by Robertson Smith, the form *Ἐἄμτε* occurs, with *θάλασσα* as the Greek translation; Damascius, however, gives *Ταῦθε*—the transliteration of the same form in its variant *Tiavat*. *Tiāmat*, fem., is the "construct" of *Tiamtu* (*Tiamatu*). Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., to whose kindness I owe some of the references to the literature of *Tiamat*, given below, writes me: "As for the mythological conceptions associated with the Hebrew *ṯēhōm*, it is noticeable that it is never found in combination with the article, which is itself an indication that the consciousness of its being, or having been, a *nomen proprium* never died out. Again, such passages as Ezekiel xxxi. 15, Psalms xxxiii. 7, civ. 6, Proverbs iii. 20, and others, prove that the Hebrews connected with the word views of a different order from the ordinary sense of 'waters.' In the passages quoted *ṯēhōm* is the subterranean ocean that nourishes fountains and springs. It seems to me therefore that your identification receives added force from the mythological conceptions once connected with the Hebrew form, which warrant one in assuming a larger circle for the *Tiamat* conception than *Babylonia*. We may therefore expect some day to

demon of the subterranean waters (καταχθόνιος)? Now it is well known that epithets of Semitic origin are actually applied here and there in Western Asia Minor to divinities locally worshipped under Greek names; and that as a rule each of these is the equivalent of some more familiar Greek word.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly I would suggest that, in this inscription, Mên Tiamu is only another form of Μῆν καταχθόνιος. Chthonic divinities are for the most part associated with fountains, i.e., with subterranean waters, and in especial with healing springs: the conception underlying the word Tīāmat and its cognates is that of the vast world and underworld of waters, or of unorganized nature conceived as a watery abyss. As in Artemis Anaitis, Greek and Persian names—the latter colored by Semitic myth—had been used to give a proper shading or depth to the native conception of the Great Mother, what is more probable than that a name distinctly Semitic might have been used in designation of the male divinity, especially when viewed in an aspect permanently characteristic of the Semitic god? If we are right in our explanation of the occasion of the dedication of the relief,—the commemoration of the might of Artemis and Mên in bringing back a sick child from the confines of the lower world, or in suffering it

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find T<sup>h</sup>ām (= Greek Τιᾶμ-) in a North Syrian inscription as the connecting link between the Babylonian and the Greek form.”

The fact that in the literary documents Tiamat is made a female divinity is not a fatal objection to our identification. As the personification and presiding genius of as yet unorganized nature, ruling over beings with bisexual characters, this divinity might originally have been conceived as without sex. In fact, on the monuments Tiamat is often represented with the attributes of a male being.

On the forms of the word Tiamat, see E. Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (Eng. Transl.), I. pp. 6 ff.: cf. also Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 268, 269, and Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, p. 237. In the *American Journal of Archaeology*, VI. 1891, pp. 291 ff., Dr. W. H. Ward discusses Tiamat in Babylonian art.—Cf. also Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 16 ff., 401 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Examples are [Μῆν] Καμαπετρης, on imperial coins from Nysa in Lydia, where the epithet is connected with Semitic (Arabic) Qamar, ‘the moon’ (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 552), and [Ζεὺς] ΑCΚΙC, on coins of Laodiceia ad Lycum in Phrygia, where Waddington and Longpérier, as Professor Ramsay reminds me, see in the epithet (= ὕψιστος) a Semitic stem, viz. that in the Arabic ‘azīz, ‘powerful’: Head, *ib.* p. 566.

to return,—it must have been Mên of the lower world that was here addressed.<sup>1</sup> And, as already intimated, in the polyglot terminology<sup>2</sup> of the period of the Mên Tiamu inscriptions, and in the Catacecau-

<sup>1</sup> Most of the large number of epithets applied to Mên,—some of which are still unintelligible,—are geographical in character (Waddington-LeBas, no. 668). Among such as are not geographical may be cited *τύραννος, πάτριος θεός, μεσάνβριος, φωσφόρος, ὄσιος* (?), *καταχθόνιος*.

<sup>2</sup> Professor G. F. Moore has called my attention to a curious bilingual inscription from Palmyra, which contains a name suggestive of Tiamu. He writes: "In Vogüé, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, no. 3 (cf. Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. G.* XXXI. 100), Mordtmann restored מִנִּי גַד, Gad Thaimi. The Greek runs *κατ' ἔπος ἀναθέματα* [Μαλα]χβήλωφ καὶ Τύχη Θαιμείος καὶ [Ἄτερ]γάτει. Gad Thaimi also occurs on a seal from Palmyra (Mordtmann, *l.c.*). An Old Testament scholar is reminded of Isaiah lxx. 11, where we read of lectisternia to Gad and *Meni*. (The latter name is guaranteed against Lagarde's conjecture מִנִּי = Nanaea, by the play on the name in מִנִּי at the beginning of the next verse.) Evidently *Meni*, though not elsewhere found, was a Semitic (Aramaean) god of fortune, and by the side of Gad Thaimi, a *Μηνὶ Τιάμου* might not seem inconceivable. We should, to be sure, not be much better off, for Thaimi is almost as obscure as *Τιάμου*. Nöldeke interpreted, 'the *Τύχη* of Thaimi'; Mordtmann at first, 'the *Τύχη* of the Thaimites'; afterwards he felt constrained by a series of proper names to take Thaimi as the name of a divinity (*ib.* XXXIX. 45 n.). But the Greek *Θαιμείος* is quite regular, and seems to preclude a combination with *Τιάμου*. Mordtmann (*ib.* 44) combines, curiously at least, the *Meni* of Isaiah lxx. 11 with . . . *Menisque magister* on an altar from Vaison in Provence (Orelli-Henzen, no. 5862 [unless *Menis* be a mistake for *mentis*, possibly *Menis magister* = *Menotyranus* = *Μην Τύραννος*? read *gaudebunt*? J. H. W.]):

Belus Fortunae rector Menisque magister  
ara gaudebit quam dedit et voluit.

The corresponding Greek inscription is:

Εὐθυντήρι τύχης Βήλωφ Σεῦστος θέτο βωμὸν  
τῶν ἐν Ἀπαμεῖα μνησάμενος λογίων."

Though no one would venture to make Semitic *Meni* and Phrygian *Mên* identical in origin and nature, the resemblance between these two names would at least make easy, in regions where the two gods were known, the ascription to the latter of Semitic characters and epithets.

Perhaps an evidence of the fusion of Aramaean *Meni* and Phrygian *Mên*, at least in America in Northern Asia Minor, may be seen in the language of Strabo XII. 3. 31, p. 557, where the implication is that, in the oath of the kings of Pontus, *Μην Φαρνάκου* and *τύχη βασιλέως* are identical in meaning. *Φαρνάκου*, though possibly originally referring to a divinity, must here be used as a generic name for

mene, Μῆν καταχθόνιος might well have been sometimes known and worshipped as Μῆν Τιάμον.<sup>1</sup>

'king' (cf. Kaiser from Caesar): hence Μῆν and Τύχη were felt to be the same. But this could be only because Meni, the Aramaean god, who was the god of fortune, or Τύχη, had become identified in the popular mind with Mên, whose encroachments subsequently almost completely obliterate Meni as an independent divinity.— Other instances of the association of Τύχη and Mên appear on the coins of Antioch Pisidiae (Mionnet, *Suppl.* VII. p. 102, no. 81; Stephani, *Comptes Rendus*, 1861, p. 83), and of Laodiceia ad Libanum (Eckhel, III. pp. 366 ff.; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 663).

<sup>1</sup> The identification of Tiamu with Tiamat (Tham-te) appears to be asserted by a writer of the first century B.C., who was very familiar with Phrygian religious beliefs and customs,— Alexander Polyhistor. In a passage preserved to us in Syncellus, p. 52 (cf. Schöne, *Euseb. Chron.* I. 16), Polyhistor, quoting from Berosus, and interpolating explanatory remarks, informs his readers that according to Babylonian legends the demon of watery abyss, who was slain by Bel[-Marduk; ὁμύρωκα = ὁ Μορδόκα], was called in Chaldean Θάμτε, which [he tells us] in Greek translation is θάλασσα, and is equivalent to the moon [perhaps, 'according to the Phrygians is the moon']. This last sentence becomes at once intelligible, if we assume that he was thinking of Μῆν = Τιάμον as he wrote:— Σελήνη: Μῆν (Μήνη) = Τιάμον: Θάμτε. Cf. *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 1894-5, Philadelphia meeting, no. 22; also *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, X. 1 (1895), my note on "Homoroka a Corruption of Marduk."

#### NOTE.— Mên Tiamu Inscriptions.

Below are collected all the inscriptions known to me that contain the name of Mên Tiamu. There seem to be no coin types with the legend MHN TIAMOT.— The Μουσείον και Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς at Smyrna, in which nos. 6 and 7 were first published, is designated by Μουσείον. Facsimiles of nos. 1, 2, 3, and 8 are given by Waddington-Le Bas; of nos. 5 and 6, by Leemans; of no. 4, in our PLATE II, opp. p. 55.— For the literature of the Anaïtis inscriptions, see above, p. 57, note 1.

1. "Ετους? ]σμη(?) ἀνέθηκαν . . . και Μηνὸς Τιάμον και Μηνὸς Πετραίτου τὸ [ἀγαλ]μα τοῦ Διονύσου. 'Ιουλιανὸς, Δάμας, Εὐσχέμων, 'Αφρίον 'Αφρίω[ν]ος, Πόπλιος, Σέκουνδος, Πρωτόκτητος, 'Ερμοκράτ[ης], Μητροδωρος, Δάμας, 'Αφρίας, 'Ερμογένης, Δάμα[s, Μη]νόφιλος, 'Απολλώνιος, 'Ηραΐς, 'Ερμοκράτης, 'Απολλώνιος, 'Η[γεμ]ών, 'Απολλώνιος, 'Αμμίων, Τρύφων, Μελτίνη, 'Ερμο[γέ]νης, Νεικόμαχος, Πεία, Μάρκος, Τύχη, 'Απέλλας, [Ἄλ]ξανδρος, Μελτίνη, Σώστρατος, Νεικίας, 'Ιουλία.— From Goerdis (Julia Gordus). Dated A.D. 163 (164)? Waddington-LeBas, no. 678. Supply, after ἀνέθηκαν, κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταγὴν, or words to the same effect (?).

2. Ἱερὰ συμβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κοιρίου τυράννου Διὸς Μασφαλατηνοῦ, καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου εὐχὴν · Ἰουλιανὸς Μενεκράτου, Μενεκράτης Διοδώρου, Διονοίστιος Παπίου, Ἐρμογένης Ἐρμίππου, Λούκιος Ὀνησίμου, Διογένης Γλύκωνος, Διογένης Μαξίμου, Τρόφιμος Ἐρμίππου, Ἀπολλώνιος (Ἀπολλωνίου), Θεόδωρος (Θεοδώρου), Μαρκιανὸς (Μαρκιανοῦ), Μένανδρος Ἐρμογένου, Ἐρμογένης Τατιανοῦ, Μητρόδωρος Εὐελπίστου, Ἀσκληπιάδης Μακριανοῦ, Ἀσκληπιάδης Διονοίστου, Ἐρμογένης Τροφίμου, [Ζ]άβηλος Ἐρμογένου. Ἐπιμελησαμένων Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Ἐρμογένου, ἔτους σνς, μ(ηνὸς) Δύστρου. — From Menneh, near Kula. Dated A.D. 171 (172). Stele representing Zeus aetophorus and Mên standing erect, with tunic, chlamys, and Phrygian cap, crescent behind his shoulders, a pine-cone (?) in his left hand, spear in his right hand, his left foot on the head of a bull that lies on the ground. Waddington-LeBas, no. 667: *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 136, no. 2. *C.I.G.* 3438 (Boeckh).

3. Κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιταγὴν ἱερὸς δοῦμος εὐχὴν Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῶ καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου καὶ Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν θ̄. εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἀπειθήσι ἀναγνώσεται τὰς δυνάμεις τοῦ Διός. ἐπιμελησαμένου Διονοίστου Διοδώρου καὶ Ἐρμογένης Βαλερίου. ἔτους σνξ, μ(ηνὸς) Δύστρου. — From Kula. Dated A.D. 172 (173). Stele with relief representing two busts, one with radiated head, the other with a crescent behind the shoulders. Waddington-LeBas, no. 668: *Monuments Figurés*, pl. 136, no. 1; *C.I.G.* 3439 (Boeckh).

4. Our inscription; see PLATE II, and pp. 56 ff. Dated A.D. 196.

5. Θεᾷ Ἀναίτι καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου Μελτίνῃ καὶ Γλύκων ἀπέδωκαν τὸ ἱεροποίημα εὐχαριστοῦντες. ἔτους τ̄, μ(ηνὸς) Ξανδικοῦ. — From Kula. Dated A.D. 215 (216). Marble stele: woman draped, with right hand raised in adoration. Leemans, *Verh. d. k. Amsterdam Akad.* XVII. 1886 (1888), no. III; Contoleon, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XII. 1887, p. 255; E. L. Hicks, *Classical Review*, III. 1889, p. 69. This inscription has ΕΤΟΥΣ · ΤΜ̄ · ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ. Perhaps we should read ἔτους τμ̄ · (μηνὸς) Ξανδίκου = A.D. 255 (256), on the supposition that the sign for μηνὸς has been omitted. — Leemans's Μιντιάμου is a misreading of ΜΗΝΤΙΑΜΟΥ. Cf. above, p. 58; also p. 59.

6. Θεᾷ Ἀναίτι καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου Τύχῃ καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Ἀμμιανὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος οἱ Ἀμμίου καὶ Φιλήτη καὶ Σωκράτια αἱ Ἀμμιάδος πόησαντες τὸ ἱεροποίημα εἰλασάμενα Μητέραν Ἀνάειτιν ὑπὲρ τέκνων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἔνγραφον ἔστησαν. ἔτους τκα, μ(ηνὸς) Ξανδικοῦ. — From near Kula. Dated A.D. 236 (237). Relief representing two breasts, two legs, and two eyes. Tsakyroglus in *Μουσείον*, V. 1884-5, p. 54 (Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, 1886, p. 155); Leemans, *ib.* no. IV.

7. Ἀρτέμυδι Ἀναίτι καὶ [Μ]ηνὶ Τιάμου Μελτίνῃ [ὑ]πὲρ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας [τῶν] ποδῶν εὐχὴν [ἀνέσ]τησεν. — From Kula. Not dated; perhaps about 220 A.D. With relief representing two feet. *Μουσείον*, 1880, p. 127 (P. Foucart in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, IV. p. 128).

Perhaps we should add, at least for comparison :

8. Λούκις Μάρκος κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας Διεὶ Τιμαίῳ ἀνέστησεν, ἔτους σξ̄α, μ(ηνὸς) Ἀρτεμισιο[v]. — From Menneh (near Kula). Dated 177 A.D. Waddington-LeBas, no. 669. If we regard the Διεὶ Τιμαίῳ as an attempt to render Μηνὶ Τιάμου into Greek words more intelligible to a Roman, the inscription

might be grouped with those relating to Μῆν Τιάμου. Of course, Τιμαίω is not a translation of Τιάμου, though it may here be a popular etymology for it. The phrase κατ' ἐπιταγήν is very common in the Mén inscriptions. Cf. Ζεὺς Σαβάξιος in Wagener's inscription, cited above, p. 62, note 4: Foucart, *Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 71.

In Waddington-LeBas, no. 675 (from Kula, without date), I suggest M[ηνι] ὄσιω for Waddington's ὀσήω. (Cf. *ib.* no. 1670, [θ]εῶ ὄσιω καὶ δικαίω.) The names of the dedicators of this slab, Manes and Banes, are noteworthy.

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#### POSTSCRIPT.

THE preceding pages were put into type in August, 1894, and went to the printer to be electrotyped in May, 1895. Hence it has been impossible, in the revision of the sheets, for me to make use of Professor Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Vol. I, *Lycos Valley*), the work referred to as in press on page 64 above, and issued only a few months ago. When Professor Ramsay was in the United States, in the autumn of 1894, he was good enough to glance over the first proof-sheets, and made many useful suggestions; hence his remarks, on p. 340, on my identification of Tiamu, and his criticism of the same. I trust that in its present more matured form my argument may commend itself to him.

In the *Lycos Valley* many topics, here only briefly adverted to, are fully and luminously discussed, with much fresh evidence: e.g., the ancient religion and divinities of Asia Minor, pp. 7 ff., 87, 105, 132 ff., 145, 169 ff., 262 ff., 271, 273, 292 ff.; Sabazius, Sozon, etc., pp. 140, 262 ff., 293 ff.; the Sullan era, pp. 201 ff. (which Professor Ramsay would now begin August 1, 85 B.C., and not July 1), etc., etc. Professor Ramsay emphasizes the difference between the earliest religious stratum in Asia Minor, based upon a matriarchal social system, and that introduced by the conquering Phrygians, probably immigrant from Europe, where the male element is dominant. It should be borne in mind that in this article the word 'Phrygian' has not been used in an ethnographical but only in a geographical sense, to designate not alone the oldest inhabitants but also the same as they

appear in history amalgamated with the Phrygians proper, and dominating in no small measure the religion and mythology of their conquerors.

While a few minor statements would have been modified and many important references to authorities, literary and epigraphic, would have been added had the *Lycos Valley* reached me in season, on the whole the main contentions of this article remain unaffected by it. Professor Ramsay, on p. 132, says: "These facts prove that the name Attes belongs to an older status of religious history than Men, . . . and history confirms the inference that Kybele and Attes were the ancient Phrygian names for the Mother and the Son." Certainly Attes is a more ancient word than  $M\eta\nu$  in the Grecised form, though not necessarily more ancient than Maen (see above, p. 64; also *Lycos Valley*, p. 169). In spite of the testimony of Arnobius V, 6, to the effect that Attis is connected with Attagus, the Phrygian word meaning 'goat,' cited by Professor Ramsay p. 350, there seems much in favor of the view of Eduard Meyer that the name and myth of Attis is a Semitic importation, detachable from the circle of myths relating to the Mother, and hence later than the original native religion; see *Geschichte des Alterthums*, I, p. 308.

December, 1895.















































































































































































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